

Montanus [i.e. F. Gordon]

FOUR

8/33. and

LETTERS

22

Taken from the

General Evening Post,

Relating to the

Present REBELLION.

To which is subjoined,

A Fifth LETTER, from the
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ON THE

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L E T T E R I.

S I R,

THE young Pretender is not the less an Invader for his coming accompanied with so few Persons. If all that are now about him had come from Abroad with him, he would not have been more an Usurper, or they greater Enemies. The Natives are always the greatest Enemies to their Country, when they are Enemies. The *Turks* are not fiercer Enemies to Christians, than the Popish *Irish* and the Popish *Highlanders* are to *English* Protestants; if they have, besides, long smarted as Fugitives, Traytors, and banished Outlaws, do they not return with heightened Rage, with Vengeance still more direful and bloody? Or, though they have never been Abroad, nor felt the Punishment and Ignominy of Traytors; yet, if they have nourished continual Rancour against the Government, been continually bent upon its Overthrow, and long fought its Ruin, are they not habitual and ardent Foes to all that love and support it? Can any Crowd of Intruders from Abroad be conceived more fierce or implacable? Could a Herd of invading *Tartars* have proved more eager Thieves, more merciless Butchers and Plunderers, than the wild *Clans* following the young Pretender? There is one Good resulting from all this shocking Evil; namely, that it is so shocking, and that by it he gives us a Sample of his Government,

and of his Notions of Government. This is so glaring, that they who are not alarmed by it, deserve the sharpest Whips and the heaviest Chains, without Redemption or End.

Does he talk of a Free Parliament? Mockery and Insult! Never was a more Free Parliament than ours, or so much Property in any Parliament. There are several single Members, in either House, able to buy every Follower he has, with all their Chiefs, and all the Lands of their Chiefs, without Mortgaging, much less selling his Estate. I could name to him the Lady of one Member, who has more Wealth upon her Toilet than would clothe his Army, much better than they now are, after all their boundless Plunder.

What *English* County, or even what small Borough, would own him, or his Writ, or chuse a Man fit for his Purpose. He can have no Prospect of any Parliament, but a Parliament of *Highland* Robbers, or *Irish* Rapparees, at best such as they shall chuse and admit. What Parliament can he possibly have, but a Parliament like his Army, composed of Indigents, Outlaws and Savages? What other Parliament would serve his Turn? He cannot but see the Dread and Antipathy of the Nation, flaming fiercely from every Corner of it against him: Yet he has the Modesty and Consistency to talk of a new Parliament. The whole Nation are his Enemies, except some unnatural Desperadoes in it; nor can he ever hope for any Parliament but a Parliament of Desperadoes, such as the Nation will never chuse. Does he mean to have a Free Parliament chosen by Force? This was the Scheme of his pretended Grandfather; who, like a true Tyrant, robbed the Electors of their Charters, and filled them with Creatures of his own: But even his own Creatures, abhorring his Religion and his

his Tyranny, abandoned the Bigot and the Tyrant. Is better to be hoped from this proscribed Invader?

Parliaments, he knows, sound charmingly to *English* Ears, and therefore tries with that Sound to charm *Englishmen*; but whilst they have the Thing itself, they will not be mocked with the Grimace and meer Sound.

He comes from *Rome* to protect the *English* Church, from *France* to defend *English* Liberty, a Papist to protect Protestants. Can there be greater or more insulting Drollery? We enjoy more Liberty than any, than all the Nations of the Earth ever enjoyed, now, or heretofore. We enjoy Religion in higher Perfection than ever, because every Man enjoys his own Religion; the Church is more secure than ever, because her Sons do not disgrace her by seeking to persecute Dissenters, nor endanger her by the false factious Cry of her Danger. His Majesty protects Property, and defends the Laws; his Subjects love and trust him. Never were there known such ardent, such active Proofs of popular Confidence in a Prince.

Here is a System of national Felicity, a System unparalell'd throughout the World! A Change from this System, implies a Fall to final Misery and Destruction. The Bait of a new Parliament, is an old Snare, the Cant of a Pretender. His Religion and his Principles (Popish and Arbitrary) are our Dread and Abomination: He is a Stranger in his Person; his Counsellors are Exiles and starving and desperate Outlaws; his Measures are barbarous; his Soldiers are Savages. If he regarded Parliaments, he would have staid till the Parliament had sent for him. He has intruded against the Voice of Parliament, and of the Nation, the loud and repeated Voice of both. He tramples upon Law, he plunders Property, he imprisons and executes Men, he commits

commits universal Spoil, yet talks of Right; he prophanes the Name of Authority, and jests with that of Parliament. Did his pretended Grandfather love Parliaments? Would he be advised by Parliament, or did he keep his Oaths to Parliaments?

His very Claim, the Claim of Descent, is a Defiance of Parliament, and Law, and Oaths. If the Parliament can exclude one King, and chuse another, then is his Claim by Blood a Bawble; nay, it is Treason against the Constitution. But if that Claim prevail, then there is an End of Parliaments, and a Man may destroy a Nation, because he is called, or calls himself King of it, or because his Ancestors, nay, because his pretended Ancestors were Kings of it. If no Disqualification can disable him, then a Person unfit for the lowest Office in Life, is fit for the highest; one that is dumb may utter Laws, a deaf Man may listen to Counsel and hear Petitions; a frantic Enthusiast may dictate in Religion, and an Idiot, or, which is worse, a wilful and perjured Tyrant, may govern the State.

Such is his latent Claim; it must be such; and he dare neither give it up, nor explicitly assert it. The Parliament, many, all Parliaments have settled the Succession as it is now settled; forced to do so by the Perfidy, the Bigotry, the Frenzy and Tyranny of his pretended Grandfather. Yet he mocks those that will be mocked, with an Appeal to Parliament. He does not, he dares not describe what sort of Parliament he means, how chosen, and how principled; neither need he describe it. We can guess his Meaning. He must either have no Parliament, or one worse than none. In the Members a desperate Fortune, and an implacable Spirit, will be the first Qualification; blind Bigotry the next; and an abandon-
ed

ed Submission to his Will, the last and greatest, recommended by the other two.

So that whether he should have such a Parliament, or no Parliament, there will be an End of all genuine Parliaments. And then---what follows? Ask him and he will not tell you: But I will, and all Men may guess, even whatever he pleases, final Bondage and the Inquisition; Monks and Fraud triumphant, Conscience oppress'd, the Bible banished, Popery and Flames in Fashion, and Protestants burned, or their Bodies secured at the Expence of their Faith and their Souls. Here is a Catalogue of Woes, dreadful ones, yet not all. Behold them, *Britons*, abhor them, and prevent them.

A Popish Government and a Protestant Parliament are a Contradiction: They are Fire and Water to each other. A Popish Parliament in a Protestant Country, is equally impossible. Will he declare himself a Protestant? He dares not. Nor shall we believe him if he do. The most furious Papists are his keenest Emissaries, the most active to poison and pervert Protestants: The grossest Papists, almost Savages, are armed for him, and for our Destruction.

Are these Tokens of his being a Protestant, or inclined to be? His pretended Grandfather long feigned himself a Protestant. His pretended Grand Uncle carried on the Fraud to his Death. Both of them continually nurtured Popery, and betrayed the Protestants; one of them openly attempted their Destruction.

We have already a Protestant King, one of our own seeking and approving, never suspected of Popery, or of any Fraud, or of any Equivocation; his Progeny all Protestants by Principle and Education. Shall we risk a desperate Change, because the young Pretender talks civilly, and makes Promises. Are
not

not all his Actions lawless, most of them barbarous ? And is Success likely to mend such a wild lawless Adventurer ? He labours to be Master by Violence. What he gains by Violence he must keep by Violence, and can never be safe till all Men be undone, till Will determine Law, and the Sword decide Property.

Such is thy threatned Fate, O *England* ! Rouse and extirpate the Parricides that threaten it. The Spirit of the Nation hath loudly displayed itself, and gloriously from Sea to Sea, with noble Ardour and Disdain against a wanton Intruder, against Savage Traitors and a Rebellion unprovoked. What remains but to nourish and pursue that glorious Spirit ? The Alternative is short, to save all, or to lose all, to destroy or be destroyed.

In my next I shall illustrate and confirm all that I have here advanced, by an Example out of the History of *England*. I am, Sir, &c.

MONTANUS.

LETTER II.

SIR,

FROM the following Extracts from the Reign, or rather the Usurpation and Tyranny of *William the Norman*, you have a Specimen of what may as reasonably be dreaded from the Pretender (either old or young) who like the other Invader, claims an airy fictitious Right, and would assert it by Force, against Law and Religion ; and, to enjoy it, would make three Kingdoms perjur'd Slaves or Victims.

William

William the Norman, improperly call'd Conqueror, invaded *England* at the Head of Forces mixt and collected from many Countries, most of them needy Adventurers, allured by promises of Plunder, and Settlements in this Kingdom, which, when subdued, was to be turned into Spoil, and parted amongst the Spoilers, with proper Preference and Allotment to the principal Spoiler. It was an Attempt as Desperate as Wicked; and they might all have probably perish'd in it, though they were Victorious at first, had not the Clergy deserted the Common Cause and broken their Engagement to the Nobility and the *Londoners* purely to make early Court to the Usurper, and to gain proper Advantages to themselves, whatever became of the rest. The Case, I bless God, is different now, and we have a different Clergy, who being convinced that they have a Common Interest with the Laity in the Cause of Liberty, join cordially with them, and have born an Illustrious Testimony against unnatural Rebels and barbarous Usurpation.

Yet, with all the Advantage of this fatal Defection, he could never have succeeded, had he not submitted to Conditions. He found himself encompassed with so many Distresses, and still threatned with so many more, that, to prevent Famine and to divert the continual Demands of his Followers, he agreed to Terms, the more readily, as he intended to keep none. He swore to the *English*, upon receiving the Crown from them, to preserve all their Laws and Liberties. He added many magnificent Promises, which, with his fair Behaviour, disposed them frankly to trust him.

His Deceit lasted not long, but gave way to his insatiate Appetite for Power, and to his devouring Avarice. He had another constant Stimulation to rob and oppress, from the restless Discontents and Importuni-

ties of his Comrades in the Usurpation, calling upon him for Donatives and Gratifications, boldly pleading their many Wants and many Services, together with his Promises and Treaty with them. To answer all their Demands, and all his own, he had no other Resource but to rob the *English*, and, by per-juring himself to them, be able to keep his Faith with his Brother Robbers; besides, he took Tyranny to be his best Policy, to disable the Oppressed from avenging their Oppression.

This is the eternal Oversight and false Craft of Tyrants; as if a People Wealthy and well protected (Blessings that naturally dispose them to be content) were more to be feared by their Protector, than a People plundered and desparate. The dread of lawless Power, may reduce the Bodies of Men, perhaps their Lips, to acquiesce; but their Spirits will remain the more ulcerated and implacable.

It is plain that *William* the *Norman* came into *England*, a determined Enemy to the *English*; as he was in his own Nature a Tyrant, as almost all that aim at Conquest are, and engaged by Compact to exercise endless Tyranny: Yet, he swore and promised, and made fair Professions; talked of his pretended Title and Kindred to the Throne, and referred all his Pretensions to the Decision of the *English*, in other Words, to a free Parliament, who to be sure must act from pure Conviction with *Norman* Swords at their Throats.

He was obliged to impoverish the whole Nation to gratify those, who, upon that Condition only joined with him in invading the Nation. His Course of Reigning, was therefore naturally a Course of Plunder, and Cruelty to such as dare complain of being plundered: Complaint was a Proof of Disaffection, and the Complainers hanged as Traitors. The
first

first Tax that he raised was oppressive and arbitrary, and levied with all the Excesses of Rigour ; the whole contrary to his Oath. The Motives of it were equally odious, it was for Money to pay his *Confederate Spoilers* ; a doleful Reason to the poor *Natives* : Yet all this was not the worst : He had such Contempt for his Honour and his Oath, as well as for his Subjects, that not a Farthing of this terrible Tax was paid to the *Normans*, though for them only he avowed to have raised it. He kept the whole to himself, as a Fund against the miserable People from whom he had squeez'd it ; miserable indeed, thus mocked and drained, yet liable to be again equally drained, upon the same Pretence.

Hitherto he had robbed them but in Part : He next proceeds to strip them to the Skin, upon a Charge against them, founded upon down-right Impudence, namely, their Adherence to their late lawful King, *Harold* the Second, when they had no other to adhere to. Had that brave Prince been alive, the *English* Throne would not have been defiled by the rough *William* who had no Peace whilst the *English* had any Land : No Argument will do against a naked Sword. He seized a greater Number of Estates, with as little Ceremony as Mercy.

When by this, and every furious Oppression, he had made the miserable Nation stark mad, his next step was to punish them for being so. He, therefore, besides infinite Vengeance, Corporal and Capital, at once seized into his own Hands, all Baronies, and all Fiefs of the Crown, whatsoever. Thus he reduced all the Nobility and Landholders in *England* to Nakedness and want of Bread. Their Misery, which seem'd compleat, had yet a heavy Aggravation, and they had another shocking Scene to behold. Their Estates were granted to the Favourites

and Champions of the Usurper, desperate Adventurers, and the needy Hunters of Fortune.

These Upstarts and Spoilers were incredibly exalted. Some of them rioted in the Revenues of whole Counties; many of them counted the Manors by Hundreds. Others were made Lords of Cities, others Proprietors of great Towns; the rest commanded strong Forts and Castles, now purposely built to insure the everlasting Bondage of the wretched *English*. All these lofty Upstarts had it now in their Option, to starve, or to feed the genuine Lords and Owners, I mean such of them as the cruel Mercy of the Invader had left to live bereft of Dignity and Bread.

These new Lords, governed by the Maxims and Spirit of their Master, admitting none to hold under them but their own Adherents, *England* was in a direct Way to lose its Name, which was absurdly derived from any Number of Slaves and Beggars.

This wonderful Revolution of Ranks and Property, so universal and so sudden as hardly to be matched in any Country, under any Tyrant, upon any Provocation, contracted fresh Guilt and Horror from the insidious Behaviour of the Usurper just before. It was unusually soft, and even fatherly. He seem'd to affect Popularity. He had relaxed the severe Exercise of Power, recalled Exiles, released Prisoners, shewn Tenderness to the *English*, and punished the insolent *Normans*. He had again talked of calling a free Parliament, and even assembled from all Parts of the Kingdom, such Men of Note for Quality and Knowledge as were fittest to acquaint him with the national Customs and Laws.

This Change of Behaviour in him cheated the poor *English* and recovered the Tyrant their Hearts. In him it was all a faithless Feint, the Effect of his present

present Dread from an actual Invasion in the North, from *Denmark*. As soon as he had bribed away that Peril, by Money, to the *Danish* General, he straight returned to his Rage, heightened by this last Danger. Besides all the human Victims to his Fury, he vented it upon Buildings and the Soil. In the best Part of the North, for sixty Miles together he spread Desolation so compleat, that in all that Tract, not a Tree or Shrub was left, not a House or Church, nor Subsistence for Man or Beast. He was indeed least merciful to such as he did not forthwith destroy, but left to the Pangs of Famine, to seek Relief from *Car- rion*, from the most loathsome Insects and Vermin, and from the Flesh of one another, till the last expired, bereft of that horrible Food. The whole Region was converted into so absolute a Desert, that, for many Years together, the Marks of the Plough were not seen in it.

When *William* had as it were extinguished the *English* Nobility and Landholders, he extended his savage Scheme to the *English* Clergy, despising their Privileges, trampling upon their Charters and subjecting them to what Burdens he pleased. Where they submitted, he used them like Slaves and half starved them: Where they asserted their Rights, he treated them like Traitors, stripped them of their Freeholds, and put *Normans* in their Room. Most of the Army too was quarter'd upon them. He caused all Religious Houses to be searched, and seized all the Wealth in them; for that was what he wanted, though he pretended to look for concealed Rebels and Traitors. It proved a lucrative Search to him, as he spared nothing that was Valuable, the rich Ornaments of their Saints and Shrines, their massy Plate, nor any of their precious Furniture, however consecrated to Holy Purposes.

With

With all this Outrage upon Clergymen, he had no Aversion to the Clergy. For, like many other cruel Men, he was a great Bigot, full of Reverence, and even of Liberality to Monks. *William* hated the *English* Clergy because they were *Englishmen* (just as any Popish Tyrant will always hate *English* Protestants.) His Hatred and Mistrust of them was so excessive, that by juggling with the Pope, the Father, and Encourager of all Mischief and Impeity) he procured his Consent to deprive all the obnoxious Dignitaries, at a Blow, Some he banished, others he imprisoned, and supplied all the Vacancies with Strangers, Creatures of his own or of the Pope.

Such was the Return which he made to the *English* Clergy, for their early Submission to him, and their Treachery to their Country. A different Spirit, because a different Religion, actuates our modern Clergy, who oppose the Advances of a Foreign Yoke and Foreign Superstition with true *English* Courage and true Protestant Zeal.

His whole Reign was a Series of Robbery and Cruelty. He was so singularly abhorred, that when a whole Army of Conspirators was formed to destroy him, not a single Conspirator was found to inform him of his Danger. He saw it before he heard of it, and had no Resource but to offer them their own Terms, and implicitly submitted to the meanest. He owned all their Reproaches to be just, condemned himself and all his barbarous, faithless Tyranny, solemnly promised a thorough Reformation, and gave them his Soul for a Pledge. He took an awful Oath, upon the Holy Gospel, and expressly submitted to be damned, if he failed, for the future, to rule according to the known Laws of *England*.

Thus he stripped them of their Fears, as did the credulous Fools their Followers of their Weapons; the only

only avenging Devils that he dreaded. The Leaders broke their Army, against all Sense, and he his Oath, against all Conscience and Shame. Nay his Oath did but whet his Vengeance. They who had been the Witnesses and Depositaries of his sacramental Engagement, first felt his Perjury and Revenge, and he pursued the Slaughter with profuse Barbarity, which was more bitterly felt by such whom he starved in Dungeons and Exile, than by those whom he only butcher'd. The Massacre was extensive and unrelenting. This was rash Rage against true Policy. A Prince who acts like a Destroyer, is in constant Danger of being destroyed. *William* had one constant Encouragement to the blackest Perjury and Tyranny, the Pope's Warrant and Absolution. A Consideration worthy of the Thoughts and Abhorrence of all *Englishmen* at this Day.

His constant Perfidy, Oppression and Cruelty, begot more Conspiracies, and these fresh Barbarity and Carnage. Suspicion was a Proof of Guilt, and whomsoever he disliked he suspected: So that having Criminals without Number, he made Victims without Mercy. Hanging was the gentlest Punishment: To be banished and starved, was accounted a Favour. Numbers perished in loathsome Dungeons: Many had their Eyes pulled out; many had their Feet and Hands lopped off, and both sorts were left with the Burden of Life and Carcasses, without Organs to guide and support Life.

After he had long waded in Blood, shed all the best, and thinned the Nation, at least of its *English* Inhabitants, he set himself to accumulate Money, and spared no Oppression, nor Device to oppress. It was a Course not of Taxing and Collecting; but of Rapine and Grinding. He had got a Kingdom by Robbery and Slaughter, and afterwards intently and eagerly

eagerly pursued the Trade. He came to the Kingdom by Force and Treachery, and he ruled it as he got it; neither did the consuming Tyranny cease with him. His Son *Rufus* was rather worse than he, indeed a woolfish Tyrant. Several of the same Line were as bad. They claimed the Kingdom as their Property, and a Right to it from Conquest. It had been much the same thing to the Nation, had they claimed it by Divine Right, only the latter must be owned better calculated for Delusion and Tyranny, as it carries a more awful Sound, and derives itself from Heaven. We know what dreadful Conclusions were forged for unlimited Servitude, during the arbitrary Times when it was in Fashion here.

God and his Majesty defend us from such Times, and from all such as would revive them. This is the pathetick Prayer of

Sir, &c.

MONTANUS.

L E T T E R III.

SIR,

IN the latter End of the Year 1639, in the *Irisb* Parliament, the *Irisb* Popish Members, who were many, were extremely forward to shew themselves well affected and zealous Subjects, and concurred unanimously in a Vote for four Subsidies to the King.

In the Middle of the Year 1641, the *Irisb* rebel against the King, and they massacre all his protestant Subjects, and are led and animated in all their brutal Outrages, by these very popish Members, lately so complaisant, so loyal, and so zealous for the King, now defying his Authority, overturning the Government, and butchering his only true Subjects.

It is remarkable enough, that so able a Man as the Earl of *Strafford*, (he was then only Lord *Wentworth*, and Lord Deputy, but was afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, the Name of which he is chiefly known by) then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, had, but the Year before, in all his Dispatches from thence flourished, in high Strains, upon the Loyalty and Affection of the native *Irish*; he even upbraids the *Scotch*, then forced by Oppression into Arms, with the exemplary and peaceable Behaviour of the *Irish*.

This Representation that great Man partly meant as a Compliment upon his own Management, and, probably, found it well pleasing at Court, where Popery was too much in Fashion, and the *Irish* too much carressed for being Papists, especially by the Queen, who governed the Spirit of the King. He too, tho' a true Protestant, was partial to Popery, as a Religion favourable to high Monarchy, such as, it cannot be denied, he was fond of. Yet, the discerning Lord Lieutenant, is so candid as to warn the King against employing the Earl of *Antrim* to quell the Troubles in *Scotland*, as the King was inclined he should; for this popish Earl was then in great Favour with the King, and even with Archbishop *Land*. "I neither
 " hope much, (says the sagacious *Wentworth*) from
 " his Parts, nor from his Power, nor from his Affections. As he is a Papist, and Grandson to that
 " famous Rebel, the Earl of *Tyrone*, he is not to be
 " trusted with any Store of Arms, which he is now
 " applying for."

In another Letter to the King about raising Forces in *Ireland* against *Scotland*, "He beseeches his Majesty, not to grant the Earl of *Antrim* a Troop,
 " (which he would surely be a Suitor for) as a Thing
 " which would prove very unpopular to all the *English*, from his Religion, his Race, his Unfitness for

“ Trust, his interested Views, his evil and traitorous Designs, &c.” Besides, Lord *Strafford*, in all his Letters, treats him as a very weak, vain Man.

After all this weighty Warning, the King is still favourable to this popish Earl, talks of his free and noble Spirit, at that Conjunction, and recommends him to the Lord Lieutenant, as worthy to be trusted and employed. His Majesty, soon after, in a Letter to *Strafford*, tells him, “ I should be glad you could find some Way to furnish the Earl of *Antrim* with Arms, tho’ he be a Roman Catholick ; for he may be of use to me at this Time, to let loose upon the Earl of *Argyle*.”

Antrim, thus encouraged, applied for six Thousand Arms, and even purposed to put the Forces he raised under the Command of his Cousin *O Neal*. “ I am astonished, says Lord *Strafford*, with his Lordship’s Purpose, Colonel *O Neal*, understood to be in his Heart and Affections, a Traitor ! What a Prospect for all us *English* here, to see six Thousand Men (Irish Papists) armed with our own Weapons (ourselves by that Means turned naked) Men led by *Tyrone*’s Grand-Child the Son of old *Randal MacDonald*, in the same Country, formerly the very Heart and Strength of those mighty, long, lasting Rebellions ?”

But though the Lord Lieutenant had excellently exposed the Danger of arming Lord *Antrim*, the misled King orders him to give the Earl all possible Assistance, and even to give him a Commission under the Great Seal, to levy Forces. An Army of *Irish* Papists were accordingly raised, and officer’d by a savage List of frightful Names *Mac*’s and *O*’s, all of rebellious Race, all, two Years after, bloody Butchers in the *Irish* Rebellion, and, even now, all ready to begin it, with a Commission from his Majesty, turned against himself

himself, as well as against his Subjects. At best the Earl of *Antrim* did no Service to the King; he had other Aims; though he had not Capacity, nor, just then, an Opportunity to pursue them. He took the first Opportunity, and most barbarously improved it; yet, after the Restoration, he pleaded King *Charles the first's* Commission for all he did, and actually got a Pardon from King *Charles the second*, I think upon that Plea.

One thing is extremely remarkable. It appears to be the Opinion of Lord *Strafford*, that before the Earl of *Argyle* declared himself, and took the Covenant, his Country was given away by the King, to the Earl of *Antrim* and others.

If King *Charles the first*, so true a Protestant, was thus perniciously misled and betrayed by Papists; what Wonder that *Charles the second*, a real Papist, the more dangerous and guilty as he was a pretended Protestant, a Prince of such loose Principles, and a Libertine in Life, was as fond of Popery as he was of arbitrary Power, a known Foe to Law and Virtue, and Protestants, a known Dissembler, partial to Papists, their constant Friend and Dupe? He was in all their Measures hearty; though he was too lazy and timid, and too much devoted to Voluptuousness, to risk his Ease and Pleasure, and Crown, by openly declaring for the Pope, and introducing Popish Superstition bare-faced, both so odious to the *English*.

His Brother, whose Zeal, like his Blindness, was extreme, tried the mad Experiment, and madly perished in the Trial. He was baffled and deposed, and surely it was worse than Death, to fall from a Throne, to live upon Alms from the Enemy of the *English* Name.

His pretended Son is a saturnine Bigot, full of the Dreams of his Divine Right, which implies blind Sla-

very in his Subjects: He is drunk with fell Vengeance against them for the damnable Crimes of Sacrilege and Rebellion, in renouncing him and his Oracle and Prompter, the Pope. What Hopes can be conceiv'd of his Offspring? Neither he nor they dare, if they would, abjure the Pope or arbitrary Power. Without the Pope they may want Bread, and hereditary Right implies a Right to be arbitrary. The Blood they pretend to, is but a discouraging Recommendation, yet they have no other.

It must appear gross Mockery, Mockery even to barbarous Highlanders, to employ such bloody Savages, to rob the Property and to confine and murder the Persons of Men, under the crazy Pretence of restoring Liberty. The great Grievance is, that Liberty is too fix'd and flourishing; that it tramples upon Superstition and Tyranny, and must be pull'd down before these can be set up.

By what Law does the Invader pretend to come in, but that he has Right against Law, and to destroy Law? His Intrusion, by all the Steps of Violence and Blood, infers that no Violence can disqualify him, nor could disqualify his pretended Father; that therefore he hath, and his pretended Father had, a Right to rule by Violence, and that no Man in the three Nations, nor the three Nations themselves, have any Right to oppose Violence. Concise Reasoning! "All that is in them, all the Lives, all the Property in them, are mine by Right, and I will take it by Force."

His Auxiliaries from Abroad are as shocking as his Claims at Home, the Power of *France*, the Curses and Demands of the Pope. *France* pants for our Destruction; and knows that the sure Way to destroy us, is to enslave us, to render us forlorn and even double Slaves at once to *French* and papal Tyranny, nay, Slaves

ves at second-hand to a King of Straw, a Royal Shadow, set up by *Rome* and the House of *Bourbon*. What dare he refuse to his Masters and Creators? His own Bigotry, his Hatred of Protestants, his Dread of Liberty, and the Merit of extirpating Heresy, will all excite him to execute his Deputation with Zeal. Religion, Liberty, Trade, all odious to his Masters and to himself, must fall sudden Sacrifices to their joint Policy and Zeal.

What think you, *Englishmen*, Protestants and Freemen, of the shocking Scene? For all this is no more than the necessary Effects and natural Operations of Popery and Tyranny. *Gratian*, the famous Canonist, the great Oracle of the *Vatican*, maintains, "That a Christian City (or Community) may be totally and lawfully burnt for a few Heriticks dwelling in it." This Decision, so positive and bloody, is but agreeable to the universal Spirit and Practice of Popery. Nor can there be such a thorough renouncing of Christ by the strongest Words of Apostacy, as the butchering of Men and Christians in his Name, and blasphemously urging his Authority.

If the Heresy of a few draws down and warrants this fiery Doom upon a Community, What hath a whole Nation of Hereticks to expect? What indeed, but incessant Fires, and Furnaces seven times heated?

Take Warning, O *Britons*! when your Government is gone, your Liberty is gone, your Religion must follow. Foreign Politicks, and indefeasible Right, will, must, soon swallow your dear Liberty and all your Fortunes: Papal Zeal, for ever burning and bloody, must, will, furiously extinguish your Religion, and burn your Persons and Bibles. Remember *Queen Mary*: Remember the *French* and *Irish* Massacres: Remember the *Spanish* Inquisition, with the unrelenting Racks and Flames there: Remember the

the swift and inhumane Destruction every where brought upon Protestants by Popery ; and may God give you Understanding in all Things.

These are the sincere Sentiments, this the passionate Wish, this the ardent and incessant Prayer, of

Your faithful Servant,

and Fellow Protestant,

MONTANUS.

L E T T E R I V .

S I R,

BY the Stile of the Pretender's Declaration, he seems to rely, for his principal Support, upon the Stupidity and Infatuation of the Nation. He says, " his only Intention is, to re-instate his Subjects in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, Laws and Liberties." When we are in the most copious Possession of all these Blessings, even to Profusion and Satiety, beyond all the Nations of the Earth, he comes from *Rome*, where Religion is founded in Fraud, Rapine and Cruelty, to re-instate us Protestants in the full Enjoyment of our Religion, which is accursed by *Rome*, and we are damned by *Rome* for holding it.

Just so Queen *Mary* re-instated her Subjects in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, by setting up the Papists to burn the Protestants, and pursued this her motherly Goodness, and Protection of them in all their Rights, to the End of her detestable Life. She promised as fair as he does, promised the very
same

same Things, and professed the same publick Spirit.

What Reason can we have to believe that he will not follow her Catholic Example, educated, as he is, in the same Catholick Principles, which eternally infer the same Catholick Spirit? Before we can take his Word, he must shew us, what he never can shew, that ever a Popish Prince kept his Engagements to Protestant Subjects, or that the Genius of Popery, and the Maxims of the Pope, will suffer him to keep them. Did his pretended Father, keep them? He does not pretend to say that he did; he cannot pretend to say it: He knows that he did not; yet does not condemn, nor even censure him, for not doing it, nor for breaking all his solemn Oaths, and invading all our Rights.

What therefore does he mean by his Intention "to re-instate his Subjects in the Enjoyment of all their Rights?" I doubt he hath a double Meaning; first to mislead, if he can, such as already enjoy all their Rights; when at the same time he intends, as his Education and Religion direct him, to spoil them of all. He would draw them the While to think that they are wrong'd of their Right, and he comes to restore them. Thus he gives weak Minds Hopes, in order to bring them to give him Admittance; and then, when they have made him Master, he will teach them what their Rights are; namely, to be redeemed from Heresy, and to be forced, for their Good, into the Bosom of the Catholic Church; to be ruled by an hereditary indefeasible Sovereign, who will recal them from the Guilt of Rebellion, and rule them by the salutary Laws of absolute Monarchy. Liberty, as it is now understood and practised, can be none of their Rights, as by it his Father was dethroned, and himself stands excluded.

He therefore cannot mean *English* Protestant Liberty:

erty: If he did, his Declaration would be ridiculous: for what People upon Earth have so much Liberty as we? His present Attempt would, for the same Reason, be a Contradiction; since, whilst we enjoy our present Liberty, he can never reign. As little can he mean the present Protestant Religion, which excluded his Father for ever, and him from ever succeeding his Father.

This Language and these Promises are therefore mere Mockery to all Men of Sense, and Sugar-Plumbs to Children and Fools. It is equally absurd and deceitful to call us his Subjects: He is in Exile by Law, and can have no Subjects. We are not, we scorn to be his Subjects. By calling us his Subjects, he disowns the Law; yet, mocking Sovereignty, and deriding us, he offers us a gracious Impossibility, of re-instating us in what we never wanted, what we enjoy above all Men, our Religion, Laws, and Liberties.

Is not this pleasant? His Father ran headlong to destroy all these, the Moment after he had sworn to preserve them all: King *William* restored them: King *George* has enlarged them, and steadily preserves them. In what Sense are they to be re-instated, but by being re-destroyed? As he is the Visionary Representative of all his Subjects, that is, of all us, who are not his Subjects, by re-instating himself he concludes that we shall all be re-instated,----for we are all his.

Neither are such extravagant Doctrine and Demands unlike those preach'd up by the Court Sycophants in his Father's Time, and too long before. It would be endless to cite Quotations and Sermons, and the Abuses then put upon God's Word, upon this Subject, by Men profanely calling themselves Religious, and prostituting the Name of Protestants to Popish Purposes. One Illustration shall suffice here out of Thousands. Dr. *Ball*, Master of the Temple, taking

taking for his Text the Words of our blessed Saviour, "Render unto *Cæsar* the Things that are *Cæsar's*" desired his Audience to observe, that the Words were *Render unto Cæsar*, not *Give unto Cæsar*, for that all was *Cæsar's* before. The courtly Doctor goes on to shew all Men, that no Man had a Right to any Thing; that whatever Men had was *Cæsar's*, and *Cæsar* had a Right to all Things.

I need hardly add, that by *Cæsar* the Doctor meant King *James*, or King *Charles*, (I forget which) Princes not very *Cæsarean*, but greedy of all the Rights which Doctor *Ball* conferr'd upon *Cæsar*; nor had he any other Reason for so conferring them. Had it been necessary to have derived these Princes from the Blood of *Cæsar*, 'tis not improbable, that the ingenious, courteous Divine, would have invented a lineal Descent from him, found a Text for it, and branded as Atheists all who disputed it.

I cannot but here remark, with Concern, that the Divines of those Days, even some able Divines, whilst they contended against the Frauds and Horrors of Popery with irresistible Force and Success, yet with strange Inconsistency, and strange Zeal, maintained the wild Tenets of indefeasible Right, and blind Bondage to the Will of a Tyrant, even of a Popish Tyrant. It is one of the many and mighty Blessings attending the Revolution and Protestant Succession, that our Divines breathe a different Spirit, and contend, like good *Englishmen*, for civil Liberty, and, like good Christians, for Liberty of Conscience,--- Doctrines odious and decried in former Reigns.

The Pretender therefore, by Religion, Laws, and Liberties, means such as his pretended Father, King *James*, pleased to allow his Subjects; for he strove to extinguish all the Laws of Religion and Liberty, which they claimed to themselves. By these Laws and

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Liberties,

Liberties, therefore, he cannot intend, and therefore we cannot understand him to intend, Ours. His Words are manifest Cant, the Cant of all Invaders. Who, that invades a Country, would not flatter it to obtain it? There is not a Tyrant in *Europe* but pretends to allow his Slaves great Rights and Privileges, and professes how tenderly he will maintain them in such. Old *Louis*, in every Step he took, and in every Edict he published, purposely to destroy the Edict of *Nantes* (and he was continually, by all Steps and Edicts, pushing that perfidious Design) was careful constantly to declare, "that he would never violate the Edict of *Nantes*," which he still faithfully stiled the perpetual, the irrevocable Edict.

The only literal Meaning which the Pretender's Words will bear, is a Meaning which he will not publicly own, nor like to have it discovered. "To re-instate all his Subjects in the Enjoyment of their Religion, Laws and Liberties," is a very proper Declaration and Encouragement to most of those who own him for their Sovereign, to all bigotted Papists and hot-headed Nonjurors; to desperate Out-laws, starving Exiles, savage Highlanders and *Irish* Raparees; to all who claim Estates, forfeited by their own, or their Fathers Treason; and to all Traitors who gasp for the Estates and Properties, of all real and true Subjects, who incur the Treason of opposing them.

To all that hungry Host such a Promise is a delicious Morfel, a Redemption from Misery, a Call to Happiness, an Invitation to take Possession of the promised Land, with all its Wealth, and Milk and Honey. But it is a terrible Denunciation of Woe to us, the present Possessors, to be stripp'd and extirpated, destroyed or expelled, like the accursed *Philistines*: For, as God gave *Canaan* to the *Jews*, the *Pope* can give *England* to the *Catholicks*, just as he did half the
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Globe to the *Spaniards*, who have rendered it, by every Effort of savage Cruelty and devouring Tyranny, almost as waste as when God first created it.

By the same Rule of just Construction, we find what he means by removing the Encroachments made upon a free People. These Encroachments are the Revolution, the Protestant Succession, the Disestablishment of Popery, the Restraints upon Papists, the Settlement of Heresy, the Exclusion of Catholic Princes, and our Resistance of Catholic Tyranny.

These are Encroachments and Grievances with a Witness, terrible Grievances to the Pope, terrible Encroachments upon the Pope's Pupil. Can he come, encouraged by the Pope, to mend the Condition of Protestants? For, by the Pope's Encouragement he comes, and arm'd with the Pope's Blessing upon his Popish Endeavours, and with the Pope's Curse against Protestants. Can he come by the Aid of *France* and *Spain*, to increase the Happiness and Strength, and to improve the Liberties of *Englishmen*? For, by the Aid of these Catholic Powers, he comes armed against *England*.

His Promises therefore, in any other Stile, are Derision.-----A most rash and profane Argument, most used to wicked Purposes, and to colour wicked Courses: The blackest Criminals have at all Times urged it, as often as they have been successful. By the same Argument, Providence hath been much longer against him and his Family than for them: They have been fifty-seven Years in Exile, and he hath had a mock Reign of a few Months over Out-laws in Arms. We who oppose him, can more justly urge his own best Argument against him; we act under the Gospel and the Law, in Conformity to both, and have the best Claim to Favour from Providence. We therefore faithfully trust to Providence, and own ourselves

indebted to it for the Revolution and Protestant Succession, as we hope soon to be for his utter Defeat and final Expulsion. Why such a Defeat hath not happened sooner, all Men lament, and most Men forebaw.

If he reason consistently, he must confess, that Providence hath forsaken him, and forced him to fly from the same ancient Capital. How he got thither we all know, and he ought with Compunction to recollect. It was by the Treachery of Parricides in Authority, Men always gently used, faithfully protected, and even favoured by the Government.

He made War upon his Majesty, and his Majesty's best Subjects, by the Aid of the worst. He did it by Surprise, at the Head of Barbarians and Rebels unprovoked, all of them mercifully used, many of them pardoned from former Treasons, many of them trusted, some of them preferred by his Majesty, ungratefully and unnaturally turning his own Arms against him; unfurnished with any Plea from Oppression, any Persecution for Conscience, any Encroachment upon the Laws, any Alarm from arbitrary Power, under the most legal, the gentlest Administration, in full Possession of Liberty, surfeited with it, unworthy of it, and wantoning in it.

Such is the mad, the unhallowed Spirit and Character of this Rebellion, and such Glory does it reflect upon the Revolution, which was only an Effort and Scheme of Self-defence, or rather, of Self-Preservation, against a crazy Tyrant's defying Oaths, rending Piecemeal the Laws of God and Man, and making War upon Law and Conscience, and human Society.

Equally unfortunate is he in his Attack upon the Government, from the Faults found with it. The mildest Government is always the most boldly blamed ;

ed ; Fulness of Liberty is constantly exposed to the Abuse of Liberty ; like Health and Wealth, and all other worldly Blessings : Ambition and Discontent will readily find Grievances, or as readily make them. Even the necessary Defence of Society, is a Grievance to those who want to distress Society, or even to alter it for Ends of their own. Places and Employments, which are inseparable from Society, as without them it cannot be governed, are Grievances to such who want them and cannot get them, and the Possessions of them is the surest Cure for railing at them. The Abuse of Parliaments, comes with an evil and ill-judged Grace from his Pen, and is a preposterous Grievance out of his Mouth. King *James* hector'd and defied Parliaments, would have extinguish'd Parliaments, and set up his weak Will, that is Popery and Tyranny, in the Room of Law, of Gospel, and of Parliaments. The Excellency of our Laws, is a Proof of the Excellency of our Parliaments, and a glorious Defence of them ; neither can they have higher Praise, than that the Pretender and other Papists dislike them.

Penal Laws are the stale Common-place of all disaffected Men, and the eternal Subject of their Invectives ; because they set Bounds to their Fury. It is natural for Rebels to rail at the Laws that hamper and hang them. I wonder that the Pretender's Manifesto should venture to mention penal Laws, when before the Revolution almost every penal Law was wrested into a capital Law. Even the Defence of Law was made capital ; and so worthy an *Engliseman*, and so great a Man as *Algernon Sidney*, was arraigned for libelling ; for, so that excellent Book of his in Defence of Liberty against Tyranny, since printed and read with Applause, was then called ; and that true Patriot, was executed for publishing it, though it never

ver went out of his Closet, nor was proved to be his Hand Writing. Harmless Words and Conversation became the Objects of penal Laws, which were virulently stretched to make publick Martyrs. I doubt it is the greatest Misfortune of this Government, that penal Laws have been so little exerted; we see the Numbers and Boldness of Papists: Pray God we do not feel it.

He talks idly and loosely about former Miscarriages under King *James*, and the Outcries against them. He calls Outrages and Tyranny Miscarriages; the Invasion and Suspension of the Laws; the High Commission, an Inquisition set up to destroy this Protestant Church; the exacting of Money from the Subjects, without Law and against Law; the Imprisonment of the Bishops of the Church, a Third of the Bench at once, for their modest Petition to be relieved from crying Oppression; an Army maintained against Parliament and People; many of the Officers Papists, commissioned against Law; many of them *Irish* Papists, the Butchers of Protestants in 41, or sprung from such Butchers, and still raging with the same Spirit of Butchery; Cities and Boroughs robbed of their Charters, their dear Birth-Right! Parliaments extinguished; Protestants displaced and oppressed; some burned, many banish'd; Popish Priests governing publick Councils; Popery itself advancing with dreadful Strides, already possess'd of the Throne, and just invading the Church; bare-faced Tyranny set up; *Jefferies*, and other Instruments of Tyranny, wantoning in Oppression, sporting with the Lives and Fortunes of Men, and wading in Blood. All these frightful and consuming Wars, all this Train of Horrors, he calls Miscarriages; neither does he call them by this gentle Name explicitly, but only for Argument sakes, supposes them, and boldly adds, that
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“ They have been more than atoned for by an Exile of his Family during fifty-seven Years.”

This may pass for Reasoning amongst Banditti, Ruffians, desperate Partizans, and the Enthusiasts of Party; amongst savage Papists, attending him from Ignorance, Bogs, and Mountains; but it is an Insult upon common Sense; the more so, because he does not once blame King *James* for having committed such a Groupe of tyrannical Excesses: So far is he from declaring that he is sorry for them, ashamed of them, and that they shall never be repeated; though had he so declared, we should not have so believed: His Religion permits him to promise fair, but damns him if he keeps his Promises.

By this odd Language, and as odd Silence, we may clearly see what he intends, and what we may certainly expect, even to see all reversed that was done at and since the Revolution, and all revived that was done before. What that was I have just shewed, and could still shew more tragically, had I Time to retail here all the Doings of *James II.* whose whole History is but one continued Strain of Perfidy, Perjury, Bigotry, and Tyranny, a little Heart full of great Ambition, a weak Head, and neither Head nor Heart in his own Keeping.

It seems we have had an unlawful Government ever since the Revolution. Unhappily for him, this his Complaint hurts him bitterly. It is certain, that we have enjoy'd more Felicity and Liberty, since the Revolution, than this Nation ever knew since it was a Nation. It is certain that Tyranny was never carried to such a Height as before the Revolution, under his Father.

Here is a Choice offered us, to continue what we are, happy and free; or, to relapse into the Servitude and Yoke put upon the Necks of our Forefathers by
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his Father. We have a hopeful Specimen, from his Son's Behaviour in *Scotland*, what we may assuredly hope for in *England*. There he rules by wanton Will, by Sword and Target, chiefly by the Aid and Counsels of Mountaineers, who neither obey Law, nor can read it. These are his Measures of Government, for which he has full Powers from his Father at *Rome*. Whilst he is openly trampling upon all Laws, and all that free Parliaments have done, and is acting what every Parliament must abhor, he mocks us with an Appeal to a free Parliament; so acted and so talked King *James*, but would never stand the Trial. His whole Trust was in an *Irish* Army, as that of his Son is in one like it.

The Argument from Providence, taken from his Success, is equally ridiculous. Hath Providence led him to Victory, and the ancient Capital of *Scotland*? Then Providence justifies lawless Invasion and Outrages, and the Violence of the Sword, against the sacred Sanction of Laws.

With the same Inconsistency and Impotence, he talks of the miserable Situation of the Kingdom at Home and Abroad. Who hath contributed so highly as himself to make it miserable? Before he embroiled us, we rioted in Ease and Plenty; this gauled his great Patron, who therefore sent him to reduce Free *Britons* to the Condition of his own Subjects, who are hungry Slaves; nor is there so sure a Way to exalt *France*, as to sink and enslave *Britain*. Without this Design, we should not have had this Visit. It is the Interest of *France*, and therefore the Business of *France*, to undo us. This is the Use she means to make of the Pretender; it is the Use which she made of King *Charles* and King *James*; who from powerful Independent Sovereigns, demeaned themselves to be the Deputies and Coadjutors of the *French* King, to enthrall

thral *Europe*; a Task never to be effected till they had enthralled their People. They became the Instruments and Confederates of *France* against their own Subjects. Thence arises the Zeal of *France* to establish, or if you will, to reinstate the Pretender, as of a Race propitious to *France*: Thence her Hatred to King *William*, to King *George*, and to Liberty; and thence her Partiality and Succours to the Pretender. If *France* apprehended any Good from *England*, *France*, far from helping him, would help *England* against him.

This is at present, the Persuasion of every true *Englishman*, and justly fills them with their present universal hostile Hatred to *France*, and to the Pretender, as the Implement of *France*. The same Persuasion endears to them, with seasonable and unexampled Affection, their own excellent and matchless Constitution, and their own brave and excellent King *George*. God bless and prosper him, and blast the Devices of his Enemies. The constant and ardent Prayer of.

MONTANUS.

LETTER V.

Taken from the *Old England*: Or, the *Constitutional Journal*.

Qui sim cognosces. Cicero in Catalin.

THERE is the same Difference betwixt Opposition and Rebellion, as there is betwixt wholesome Medicine and deadly Poison. The Pen which has been often drawn against the Corruption, the Mismanagement and Influence of Office, is now re-

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sumed against the Madneſs, the Impiety, and Danger of Civil Rage, conſiſtent in both Characters; both Duties willingly performed; their Occaſions ſincerely lamented.

The *Romans* never appeared ſo truly *Roman* by acquiring Victory, as they did by reſenting Deſeat. Two eminent Inſtances of this kind are met with in their Hiſtory: Their Diſgrace of the *Furcæ Caudinæ* was wip'd away by the almoſt utter Exinction of their Enemies; and tho' they loſt the Battle of *Cannæ* by the Miſmanagement of their General, yet did they ſcorn to ſhew any Reſentment, but againſt the Foes who had given them the Deſeat.

Virgil has finely drawn this Characteriſtic of his Countrymen in the Perſon of *Dares*: That brave Boxer was not himſelf, 'till a Fall had roused within him all his conſcious Worth and native Vigour; it was then his Antagoniſt felt the Weight of his Blows, and, as we may ſay, fell a Victim to the Advantage himſelf had gained.

There is in a brave People, ſuch as the *Romans* once were, and ſuch, as I hope, the *English* now are, a Solidity, by which, inſtead of breaking, they rebound by a Fall. The Spirit which our Countrymen has ſhewn ſince a recent Diſgrace, does them more Honour than ever they could have acquired by a partial Succeſs againſt a naked, needy, deſperate Crew. We are told of certain little noxious Animals, whom it is not at all difficult to deſtroy, once you catch hold of them; but 'tis ten to one that they don't bite you while you are endeavouring to ſeize them: Our *Highland* Enemies are ſomewhat of this Kind; they have had their Snap, and it muſt be own'd, we have been confoundedly bit; but, it is now more than probable, their Succeſs will be fatal to themſelves alone. To the immortal Honour of
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Englishmen, all Animosities are now buried in a generous Resolution of preserving, in his Majesty's Person and Family, whatever can be dear to Protestants, to *Britons*, and to Men. The noble Infection of Public Spirit now flies from Breast to Breast, and he is not an *Englishman* who feels not its Influence. *Where, O Faction, is now thy Sting ! and where, O Party, is now thy Rage !* The one is plucked out, the other is subsided : May the first never recover its Venom, nor the latter resume its Force.

He would be the worst of Men, who should, by reviving Party Distinctions at this Time, endeavour to break the glorious Harmony which now subsists in an united People. Wholesome Distress has, in a few Days, nay Hours, effected what a Train of wanton Success never could have done. Let the scandalous Tale-bearer now point out, if he can, one Gentleman in the Opposition to aught, but the Disturbers of Domestic Quiet ; let him now whisper the bad Effects of Party-Writing ; let him represent Dissatisfaction with Measures as Disaffection in Principles ; but let him produce an Instance, where the Poison has spread, but in those Parts where no Writing ever reached, which are as much Strangers to Reading as they are to Loyalty ; and rebellious chiefly because ignorant.

The Dispute now is not, who shall set the Sail, or handle the Rudder, but whether Rudder, Sails, Ship, and all, shall sink or swim ; It is not about the Modes of Government, but about the Existence of the Constitution. Our Establishment may be compared to a graceful, well compacted Arch, in which the Succession is the Cope-stone ; as its Foundation is good, and Structure solid, it admits of additional Ornaments, perhaps some additional Strength ; but move this Stone, down the mighty Fabric tumbles, and the

the whole lies an undistinguished Heap of Ruins. A fit Haunt for Superstition! a becoming Throne for the despotic Power!

It may not be amiss, at this Time, to put *Englishmen* in mind of the Condition to which they may be exposed, should this Invader gain his Ends, and that too independent of the alarming Consideration of Religion, if absurd Impiety deserves that Name. The Establishment of the Protestant Succession is so strong, so indispensibly connected with our Laws and Liberties as a People, that all must stand or all must fall together. To think of its admitting the least Alteration, is supposing our present Constitution to be *felo de se*. By it, the Family of *Stuart* has no more Title to the Crown than the Family of *Bourbon*; and by an *Englishman* who understands *English* Principles, the one is to be considered an Alien as much as the other: If therefore, no Title can be established by Law, all that can be pleaded must be by Arms, that is, by Conquest. But consider, my Countrymen, what a dark, what a dismal Scene this affords! a Scene that never was yet clear'd but by the rattling of Chains, or diversify'd by aught but alternate Triumphs of Pride and Cruelty, Insolence and Tyranny. With such a Title your Invader has a Pretext, nay, let me say, a Right to treat you as Slaves. It is a Title, which, like a devouring Element, suffers none other to exist, and can be repelled only by that thro' which it is established, by Arms. With such a Title the Exercise of Clemency is no other than the Suspension of Injury, and the Subjected, in their happiest Situation, are Slaves in more splendid Chains.

It is in vain to plead, that a foreign Force is not employed. Your Invader has taken from himself that Plea. He has openly avow'd his Intention to dissolve the Act by which the one Part of the Kingdom

dom is united to the other: By this Dissolution, we are to consider those that fight under him as *Foreigners*, since he has broken, as far as in him lies, the Bond that unites them to *Englishmen*. It does not, perhaps, occur to every Reader, that this Dissolution is big with yet greater Calamities to *Old England*: For, upon the Act of Union, if I mistake not, rests the chief constitutional Provision for the Succession in his Majesty's Family to the Crown of *Scotland*. Such a Dissolution, therefore, would entail on the present and future Ages, all the Miseries which former Times have experienced from that *Weasel Foe*, to use *Shakespeare's* Expression on a like Occasion.

From this Consideration chiefly arises the Wisdom and Necessity of depriving our Invaders, as much as possible, of all Pretends of christning their Rebellion with the Name of a National War. Whatever Prejudices some late Transactions may have given the Public with regard to our Northern Brethren, yet, I will answer for them, that nothing can debauch nine Parts in ten of them from their Allegiance, but a barbarous confounding the Innocent with the Guilty: A Circumstance which we never can suppose under his Majesty, whose Reign, till the present Commotion happened, has been unstained by Civil Blood.

If ever any People merited generous Compassion, that People does, who, on one Hand, has the Sword of Violence pointed to their Throats, their Properties, their Persons and Families exposed to the Mercy of lawless Force; and on the other hand, the Laws of their Country, with the Allegiance due to their Sovereign, calling out for vigorous, tho' vain Resistance. Such a Situation would, within the most loyal County *England* has to boast of, balance
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Inclination by Terror. The Laws of Nature, and Practice of Nations, have ever, in such Cases, admitted a temporary Acquiescence under superior Force; and I will venture boldly to assure the Public, that nothing can, at this Time, be more dangerous to that very Cause, for which *Englishmen* would wish to live, and for which every Freeman would die, than the imputing the Fault of a few to the Demerits of the whole, or partial Rebellion, to national Disloyalty. *I am,*

Your constant Reader and Servant,

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